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643 limit ourselves as far as possible to the temporal side of the royal functions and postpone our account of the king's spiritual duties and privileges until we consider religion. With such an artificial division a certain amount of inconsistency and overlap is inevitable; for instance, the succession to the throne will be treated under religion, although the election is largely a temporal matter.

643 173 We accept Father Hofmayr's genealogical table of the royal house rather than those of previous inquirers, including our own,[1] on account of his excellent panel of native informants. It is this table, with spelling modified, that we now reproduce.

643 173 The Shilluk king rules by divine right as a direct descendant of Nyakang, the first Shilluk king. We found no basis for the belief, common among Europeans in the Shilluk country, that there were

[1] "Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. A, Khartoum, 1911.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Juok, "May Juok guard you," while a sick man may cry, *Er ra Juok*, "Why, oh Juok?"; but on the whole, Juok is so linked with Nyakang in the Shilluk mind that he is seldom approached in prayer without the mention of Nyakang (and sometimes of his son Dag). Indeed so obvious is this association that the Rev. D. S. Oyler writes: "They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor,"[1] and gives the following prayer as an example:—

> "We praise you, you who are God. Preserve us, we are in your hands and preserve us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are announced to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the river is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dak, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you . . ."[2]

We do not know of any definite evidence of sacrifice to Juok only; even in the all-important sacrifice for rain Nyakang is also invoked. Juok, vaguely associated with the firmament, is recognized as the creator, though now showing but little interest in his creatures. The prayers offered directly to him, collected by Hofmayr, are such dance songs as the following (we have paraphrased Hofmayr's literal translations):—

> "I pray to God (Juok), God the Giver (Juokawng), God the Protector (Juokagin); I have taken [God] to me and have become fearful to my enemies so that they scarcely dare attack me." "The Shilluk when enticed clatter like crows, they forget Juok; the Shilluk full of lust forget Juok." And a song composed by King Yor: "I pray to Juok alone for he dwells the spears, spear throats are of Juok."[3]

Two subsidiary uses of the word Juok may be mentioned. There is an expression *pun Juok*, "the country of Juok". We formed the opinion that though this implied no local habitation it was vaguely associated with the dead; Hofmayr is more definite, regarding *pun Juok* as the place of Nyakang and the ancestors, to be reached after many months journeying in the bush. Certain diseases may in a general way be described as *juok* (though each has its own name), this term also being applied in folk-tales to men possessing supernormal attributes. Summing up, we may say that Juok is the Creator, perhaps vaguely associated with the firmament, but certainly having

[1] "Nikawng's Place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 183.
[2] Loc. cit. [3] Op. cit., 197-201.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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755 is cured, and at the same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect."[1]

756 The power of the *ojuogo* is due to the immanence of the spirits
775 of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrine of Nyakang might or might not be *ojuogo*; they do not become *ojuogo* because
[775] of their connection with the shrine, nor does their being *ojuogo* alter their official position. According to our most reliable informant, only the spirits of Nyakang, Dag, and Bor (the first, third, and seventh of the Shilluk kings) become immanent in men to make them *ojuogo*. When a man first becomes *ojuogo* he becomes ill, perhaps waking, trembling and agitated, from a dream (in which he may afterwards say the spirit came to him). He consults an *ojuogo*, who may tell him, "No, you are not ill, you have the spirit of Dag within you." A long and complicated ceremony is then performed in order that the spirit may not affect him too severely, for without this ceremony the spirit would be unduly strong in his body. We could not discover with certainty the exact nature of the change effected by the ceremony, but it seemed to us that our informant, one Akon Acol, who had in him the spirit of Dag, considered that the spirit, which had previously attacked his body in the rudest fashion, became attached rather to his spirit or soul. The ancestral spirit of any one king may be immanent in many *ojuogo* at the same time, often passing at the death of an *ojuogo*—or shortly afterwards—into one of his children, who thus becomes an *ojuogo*. The power is frequently hereditary, and we know of one instance where a man waited for years for possession by Dag as his mother had been possessed, the condition coming finally as the result of a dream in which he saw a flame of supreme brightness; on waking he had the conviction that Dag was now immanent, and thereupon built the spirit-hut of which we reproduce a drawing (Fig. 9). The reality of the power is practically tested by the success of the would-be *ojuogo* in effecting cures; if he fails, especially in his early cases, it will be recognised that he is not truly possessed.

756 We have recorded elsewhere—noting that our information was unconfirmed—the statement that female *ojuogo* should not marry but might have lovers, and that according to our authority (unchecked) the husband of married *ojuogo* would have access to their

[13]

[1] Rev. D. S. Oyler, "The Shilluk's Belief in the Evil Eye," *S.N. & R.*, 6, 1919, 123.

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of its occupant, are most clearly recognized. Then the elected king, wearing on his wrists the emblematic silver bracelets and followed by a bearer carrying a fan made from the wings of the saddle-billed stork, comes down from the mound of the shrine at Atyurwic; he is lifted on to the sacred stool of Nyikang, and receives the allegiance of the chiefs of settlements, who stick their spears into the ground before him. Though he sits in state as a king, he is admonished by the chiefs and told what is expected of him. At the election of 1943–4, the chief of Tonga said to the king: 'Our job is not to keep order, that is your job. Our duty is to supply you with choice morsels of hippo meat.'[1] Although he was speaking of a new, administrative situation, we may see here the idea of the king as a source of social order, who fulfils his functions merely by existing. The king's office keeps the Shilluk in palpable relation with an ideal order, which they hold to be the true order of their universe. There is a Shilluk proverb which says that 'the Shilluk only believe what they see'.[2] In their human king they are also able to see what they believe.

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 31. [2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 333.

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connected with a Lakh, " directly from the King, or from the settlement chief."
(26) This ceremony shows clearly that the Lakh plays a symbolic role in the
Shilluk political institutions. (27) These institutions are more or less matters
of tradition , and traditions are strongly engaged in a conservative society.

I have dwelt at length upon this problem, not only to criticize
Seligman, but mainly to direct attention to one of the most important cultural
characteristics of the Shilluk, in comparison with other Nilotic groups, and
to show that this is not a easily acquired custom, but has deep roots in the past
that can be explained by cultural contact or diffusion that affected only the
Shilluk.

Notes.

(1) Seligman, C.G., & B. Z.[Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932
p.48
(2) Hofmayer, L., The Shilluk, Vienn 1927. p.267.
(3) The word means the "sweet ground-plant of the people".
(4) Tothill, J.D., Agriculture in the Sudan, London 1948, p.247
(5) Ibid, pp. 488/89
(6) Ibid, p. 490
(7) Seligman, C. Notes and Queries in anthropology, London.
(8) " C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 9)
(9) Hofmayer L., The Shilluk. Vienn 1927). p. 9)
(10) Seligman , C.G., Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No 11
London 1911, pp. 549/51)
The figures in brackets indicate the number of persons measured.
(11) Seligman, C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p. 478
(12) see above, Table "C" No A 4, and A 5, have three lines.
(13) Roth A., 1936, p 28
(14) see above, table "C"
(15) see above , table "C", part No B 3, he was the son of king Ismain, who adopted
the name of Omar, and converted to Islam.
(16) Seligman C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 49
(17) Roth, A., 1936, p 28
(18) Hofmayer, L., The Shilluk, Vienn 1927). p 344
(19) Ibid, p. 345
(20) Ibid, p. 345
(21) This may be explained by the wish to let the right arm always free to throw
spears or anything else. Also Seligman (1932, p 47) erred when he said that
" the inhabitants of a village, Fetkuer, mark a scarification several inches in
length... on the shoulder - left for men and right for women- so that it is
not hidden by the shoulder cloth."
(22) Hofmayer, L., 1927, p 345/346
(23) This is the term I have observed: the Shilluk who became under the influence
of missions or who was converted to Christianity wore European shirts and
shirts, and the Shilluk who was converted to Islam wears the usual Arab white
dress, with a turban.
(24) Hofmayer, L., 1927, p 29
(25) Roth, A., The Nilotes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda, London 1905,
p. 32
(26) Ibid, p 30
(27) There is a similar ceremony among the Nuer of investing the new chief's with
a head dress.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F223 Shilluk F223

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

CUSTOMARY LAW: MARRIAGE AND THE VIOLATION OF RIGHTS IN WOMEN

P. P. HOWELL

IN a previous article on the Shilluk[1] I discussed the laws of homicide and the legal and ritual functions of the *reth* or King. An interpretation of Shilluk law and authority is not easy because, apart from early contacts with the peoples of the northern Sudan, they have been subjected to external influences and some kind of Government since the early years of the last century. These contacts began with cursory and not altogether happy encounters with the Turco-Egyptian Government which were followed by the establishment of a provincial headquarters at Kodok in 1867 under the authority of a *mudir*; later came the turbulent and dismal years of the *Mahdia* and finally the occupation by the present Government in 1898. It would be idle to suppose that the political system of the Shilluk has remained unaffected by these influences. The Shilluk are by reputation an exceptionally conservative people and certainly the effects of their relations with outsiders are, to the casual observer, hard to detect. Profound changes have taken place none the less, especially in the sphere of customary law, and these changes are undoubtedly gathering momentum.

By 'law' I mean simply those customary rules governing human relationships from which there has developed a body of rules classed as 'customary law' (sometimes 'native law and custom') administered under the Chiefs' Court Ordinance of 1931, and more or less consistently applied in the tribunals established by the Government.

These courts have now largely taken the place of the ultimate sanction for conformity with accepted rules of conduct, for the fulfilment of recognized duties and the composition of all disputes, which was formerly the resort to force by the injured party and his supporters. It is my opinion that the ordered indigenous administrative system of the Shilluk, so enthusiastically described by some writers, and the organized repressive measures alleged to have been undertaken by the *reth*, are not only exaggerated, but also, in part, derive from contacts with alien governments. At any rate it is more than probable that no system existed among the Shilluk whereby all wrongs were righted by the direct intervention of the *reth* and his representatives.

We are not here concerned with political systems, but with the nature of customary law as it is applied today. This law is at basis derived from customary procedures in which arbitration and compromise prevailed; but in recent years it has acquired a consistency, and in some cases a rigidity, probably unknown in the past. A body of case law has arisen from precedents made in the courts, and although some laws may derive from the direct intervention of the Administration, others are part of a purely spontaneous process. It is also noticeable that many claims now upheld

[1] 'Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile: The laws of homicide and the legal functions of the *reth*.' *Africa*, xxii. 2, 1952. I am again indebted to the Sudan Government for permission to quote from official reports and to Mr. W. P. G. Thomson and Mr. J. L. Baker for comments and suggestions.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F223 Shilluk F223

a basis for definite conclusions. It is, however, probably safe to say that among the Shilluk homicide is a private delict requiring the restoration of equilibrium by the payment of compensation in cattle. The main object of such payments is to marry a wife into the kinship group of the deceased—rather than individually to the sons of the deceased—and thus ensure its continuity and increase, which have been interrupted by the removal of one of its members. Retaliatory sanctions are also operative, in that the duty to take vengeance on the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen is recognized.[1] In principle, there are here no profound differences between the Shilluk and their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The rate of compensation is governed by the relationship between the parties and thus the offence is subject to social range. Parricide and fratricide, regarded as the gravest possible offences against the integrity of the kinship group, are subject only to supernatural sanctions. These apply within the local lineage in lessening degree according to the relationship between the persons concerned, and the ritual expiation is known in Shilluk as '*cuolo ji kipe rwom*'.

We cannot, however, entirely ignore the strong tradition which prevails among the Shilluk and the views of early writers, that the *reth*, as ultimate authority, had the recognized power to intervene, to enforce such payments and, moreover, to exact additional payments in person and kind amounting to fines which he seized for himself. If we are to believe these traditions, we must conclude that public action against warring factions, whose continued enmity was disturbing the peace of Shilluk society as a whole, was sometimes undertaken. This does not, in my opinion, alter the argument that individual acts of homicide were treated as private delicts involving primarily the restoration of equilibrium between the units of society concerned. If, however, the portions alleged to have been taken *regularly* by the Shilluk *reth* are regarded as '*fines*' paid to the head of the State (though in my opinion this is a wrong interpretation), then homicide among the Shilluk appears to be in a transitional stage between a private and a public delict, and was so even prior to the introduction of penal sentences by the present Government.

[1] Pumphrey observes: 'It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due (in contrast to compensation for lesser wrongs) the net is cast wider and not only the lineage, but even members of other lineages of the same clan are expected to contribute.' Op. cit., p. 15.

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Résumé

LES LOIS SHILLUK CONCERNANT L'HOMICIDE ET LES FONCTIONS JURIDIQUES DU *REETH*

Après un récit sommaire de l'histoire du peuple Shilluk et des caractéristiques de leur société, l'auteur examine l'autorité et les fonctions administratives du roi (*reth*), et plus particulièrement ses fonctions juridiques concernant les vendettas et les cas d'homicide. Il suggère que les traditions des Shilluk et les récits des premiers explorateurs et anthropologues ont eu tendance à exagérer les pouvoirs du roi en le représentant comme l'autocrate ou même le souverain tout puissant d'une société hautement organisée. Pendant le régime turque, ainsi que sous l'administration actuelle, l'autorité du roi a été soumise et, dans une certaine mesure, augmentée par un système de gouvernement indirect; mais l'auteur exprime l'opinion qu'avant l'intervention de ces autorités externes, les fonctions du roi étaient principalement, sinon entièrement, rituelles. Il paraît que le roi agissait comme médiateur dans les vendettas entre groupes, qui survenaient fréquemment et persistaient souvent pendant de longues années, mais il est douteux s'il possédait le pouvoir d'intervenir avant d'y être invité par les participants. L'auteur examine, comme exemple de procédures judiciaires, les lois concernant l'homicide, et exprime l'opinion que l'homicide était regardé traditionnellement comme un délit privé pour lequel une indemnité en bétail, d'après un barème déterminé, était demandée par la famille du défunt dans le but d'acquérir une épouse pour le groupe d'appartenance. Des bestiaux supplémentaires remis au *reth* constituaient une sorte de rétribution pour ses services de célébration des rites de réconciliation et purification, et non d'" amendes " dues au chef d'un état à titre de pénalité pour un délit public.

10: Rind 8-4.9 [1950] 1950 F313 Shilluk F313

Shereng war invasions from the north always swept the plains, and compelled the older settlers with their practitioners to seek refuge areas. But it is not expected that the whole of the older population will seek new homes; many will stay and, after a time, when the newcomers have forgotten their former superiority and pride, both components will mingle, to a certain extent, freely with each other. After that it is expected that there will be a free reciprocal exchange of cultural elements, entitled to the new conditions.

On the basis of such theory, can we explain the fact that it was only in the reign of King Dakin, number 9 in the list of Sennar, and in the reign of King Nage, number 10 in the Shilluk list, that coronation ceremonies were introduced in each kingdom separately? It would be highly probable to justify such an assumption if we remember that the Funj were incorporating part of the older population, namely the Hamej, into their kingdom, and that the northern part of the Shilluklands at least belongs to this old stratum of peoples.

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[illegible] 43 [illegible] Le Shilluk. Côte Blanche, Paris, Berthelot & Co. [illegible] Johnston J.H., Notes on the Shilluk. Oxford, 1948. [illegible] Westermann D., The Shilluk People. Philadelphia, 1912.

Abbreviations

JSS Journal of the Historical Society, Cairo.
SNR Sudan Notes and Records, Khartoum.
WSA Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen, Wien.

Introduction

[illegible] vertrat lange die Ansicht, dass die Shilluk von den Dyng herrschten stamm. Dieser Standpunkt lieferte eine heftige Diskussion pro und kontra aus. Verfolgend wurde es Eigentümer, die an Hand sämtlicher Traditionen sich an die Ursprungsfrage der Shilluk machten.

Dieser Historiker, Dr. G. Hird, der bereits eine Studienreise an den Shilluk unternommen hatte (siehe Hird Observations among the Shilluk, Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen III/1, pgs. 70 ff.), versucht das Thema von der ethnologischen und geographischen Seite her zu beleuchten. Er kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass die Dyng sozialen tiefer gelagert sind, während die Shilluk als eine von ihren Gründig gegründete Nation verhältnismässig jung anzusetzen sind. Aus der Geschichte der Shilluk scheint hervorzugehen, dass sie teilweise von den Dyng unterworfen wurden.

19: Howell & Thomson E, C-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

APPENDIX V.

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22: Howell E-S (1951) 1952 F 323 Shilluk F 323

The Death and Burial of *reth* Dak and FADIET OF THE SHILLUK

By P. P. Howell

THE following observations are intended to amplify previous accounts of the death and burial of Shilluk Kings.[1] I was not able on this occasion to follow the ceremonies in detail, for the death of a Shilluk *reth* and the installation of his successor is carried out over a long period with a mass of ritual observance. I attended some of the ceremonies, had conversations with some of the participants later and am also indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker, then District Commissioner of the Shilluk, for much of the information recorded here.

I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of previous publications on the subject. In broad outline the procedure followed may be summarized as follows:—

(1) Immediately after his death the body of the *reth* is carried to a village with which he has had previous close association and is there ceremonially immured in a special hut. It should remain there for a period which varies between a few months and over a year.

(2) Meanwhile, the new *reth* is elected in the traditional manner by an electoral college of hereditary chiefs and, unless internal conflicts follow over the choice, begins to prepare himself for his installation.

(3) The remains of the late *reth* are then removed from the hut and carried to the village of his birth or adoption, and there buried in in the house formerly occupied by him. Full mourning ceremonies in which a large proportion of the population play their part follow.

(4) Preparations for the installation, involving all sorts of preliminary ritual observance and ceremonies, continue and the final stages are timed to take place after the harvest and before the rains.

(5) The formal installation then takes place and consists of the march of Nyikang (the original *reth* and culture-hero of the Shilluk who is represented in effigy) from Akurwa to Fashoda;

[1] See in particular: Munro, P., *Installation of the Reth of the Chol*, *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, 1918; Howell, P. P., and Thomson, W. P. G., *The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor*, *S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXVII, 1946; Thomson, W. P. G., *Notes on the Death of a Reth of the Shilluk*, *S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXIX, 1948. Also Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan*, Frazer Lecture, 1948, Cambridge University Press.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE ELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF RETH KUR WAD FAFITI OF THE SHILLUK

By P. P. Howell

With an account of the final ceremonies by J. O. Udal

IN a previous article[1] I described the death and burial of *reth* Dak *wad* Fadiet who was installed at Fashoda in January, 1946 and died in Malakal in May 1951. I explained that the events and ceremonies which took place would be treated separately, but that the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor is all one process in which the soul of Nyikang, the founder of the Shilluk dynasty, passes from the old to the new. The period of the interregnum is full of dangers for the Shilluk people: *piny bugon*, "there is no land," the Shilluk say. The prosperity of the people is dependent on the position in society of the *reth*: he is the symbol of unity and national order and is further responsible for the control of natural phenomena for the benefit of his subjects. Such divine attributes are not automatically acquired by the newly appointed *reth*: he can only acquire them by careful observance of all the rites and ceremonies necessary to assure the transfer and to confirm him in his position. Each stage in these ceremonies is therefore another crisis passed both for the *reth* himself and for his people. It is a further step towards the re-establishment of former stability and only when he has been finally installed at Fashoda is there a return to normal. This state of affairs is manifest at every point of the proceedings which throughout so vividly display these concepts.

The events may be divided as follows:

(i) The death and "lying in state" of the late *reth* during the period, often several months, when his body lies in a hut in a village specially prepared for the purpose.

(ii) The election of his successor.

(iii) The actual burial of the late *reth's* remains in the village of his birth or adoption and the final mourning ceremonies called in Shilluk *wowo*.

(iv) The ceremonies which culminate in the actual installation of the new *reth* in the Shilluk capital of Fashoda.

These events have been described in some detail in the case of Fafiti *wad* Yor who was installed in 1917 and died in 1943, in the case of Anei *wad* Kur who succeeded him and who died in 1945 and of Dak *wad* Fadiet who succeeded Anei and died in 1951.[2]

[1] *The death and burial of Dak wad Fadiet*, S.N.R. Vol. 33 Part 1.

[2] Munro, P., *Installation of the Reth of the Col.*, S.N.R. Vol. 1. 1918. Howell, P. P. & Thomson, W. P. G., *The death of a Shilluk Reth and the installation of his successor*, S.N.R. Vol. 27. 1946, and Thomson, W. P. G., *Notes on the death of a Reth of the Shilluk*, S.N.R. Vol. 29. 1948.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of these accounts, for the observations which are recorded here are not part of a full and detailed description, but of a note intended to amplify previous records.

643 776 Although the spirit of Nyikang may appear almost anywhere in Shilluk country and in the numerous shrines which are found there, I think it is safe to assume that, where the new *reth* is concerned, Nyikang disappears at the time of the actual burial of the late *reth*. His spirit appears again in the effigy [778] which is kept at Akurwa, the most important shrine in the country, and remains there pending the final ceremonies of the installation. Until the obsequies [177] of his predecessor are completed, the *reth*-elect is not finally accepted, though [669] he must follow the rules laid down by tradition and must avoid pollution. Theoretically, though this no longer holds true with the administration of the present government, his position may at any time be challenged by a rival and civil war might follow. After the old *reth* has been buried, though the danger [775] from rivals is always present, he has to face the spirit of Nyikang and to undergo the trials to which Nyikang will subject him before he is accepted as a worthy successor and is himself possessed by the spirit. Actual physical 643 danger from other claimants, the danger of an uprising against him, which is never entirely absent throughout his reign, is at its peak, but wanes as each stage is successfully passed. All this is expressed by the conventional attitudes displayed by him and his people and in the ordeals he must undergo. Thus, though there may be no real danger of armed conflict, the situation demands that these conventions be followed and throughout there is an atmosphere of insecurity.

We are here concerned with the election and installation of Kur *wad* Fafiti. As the son of a *reth* who ruled the Shilluk for so long and so successfully[1] and coming immediately after two *reths* whose reigns were short and by no means universally popular, Kur was a likely candidate and it was generally accepted that one of the house of Fafiti was the obvious choice. The Electoral College of chiefs sat at Fashoda immediately after the body of Dak *wad* Fadiet [115] had been immured in the hut at Debwor. Mr. J. L. Baker, who was present, describes the procedure as follows:

"On the 13th May, 1951, the Electoral College sat without further delay as the chiefs wanted a new *reth* quickly owing to the approach of the rains. Also the issue was pretty clear from the outset as, apart from one or two chiefs in Golbainy, the Shilluk were solidly in favour of *nyireth* Kur—a man known to me as a very well-behaved and dignified type, from Bapi behind Kodok. The College on this occasion was ten strong (no Tonga people had arrived, but this was not considered important). The following sat:

1. *jago* Yorleiker (Gol Dhiang)
2. *jago* Thabo (Gol Nyikang)
3. *kwanyireth* Cayo (*jang kwareth*)[2]

[113]

[1] There were occasional conspiracies against Fafiti, notably that of Nyawcilo *wad* Kur in 1932. See Pumphrey, M. E. C., *The Shilluk Tribe*, S.N.R. Vol. 24 p. 5.

[2] *jago jang kwareth*, lit. "the chief of the chiefs of the *kwareth*." The title was apparently given to this branch of the royal house by *reth* Nyakwac.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

never *reth*. He appears in effigy during the final ceremonies of installation. Nyidoro's position in the genealogy is doubtful; his burial place is unknown, but *reth* Fadiet built a shrine for him. Ocolo is often called Odak, which sometimes leads to confusion with Dak son of Nyikang. Odak's sons, with the exception of Duwad, were killed in battle and their sons were degraded to the status of *ororo*. Pyem is the ancestor of the *kwa* Nyimol the main *ororo* clan. Hofmayr also mentions Akac (son of Duwad or Boc), but he was never *reth*. Abudok, eldest daughter of Boc, is said to have ruled the Shilluk and to have maintained her position by concealing the sex of Dokot, then only a child, who was dressed by her in a girl's apron.

3. Tugo (Hofmayr gives his dates as 1690-1710, but these are, of course, not authenticated) was the first Shilluk *reth* to have a settled capital and founded Fashoda. From him sprang the two main branches of the Royal House, *gol* Okon and *gol* Nyadwai. The latter are still *kwareth* even though no *reth* can now be chosen from their numbers; *reth* Fadiet tried unsuccessfully to degrade them to *ororo*. Some Shilluk mention Ngu Akwo, son of Nyadwai, as being *reth* after Wak, while Nyadwai's brother Ngu Aba never ruled. Nyelgud is a nickname for Nyator who is alleged to have been *reth* after Kudit.

4. All those eligible for the throne are from the House of Okon. Some alterations to previously recorded genealogies should be made. Yor, called Adodit, was son of Akoc, not son of Kwathker. Kweikon, son of Kwathker, should be included; Akol, a rival of Yor and later of Kur, was never installed at Fashoda, though some kind of installation ceremony was held for him by the southern Shilluk at Fanyidwai. Deidunyal, son of Ajang, was elected, but never installed and is not included. In fact many candidates for the throne were backed by only one element in Shilluk society, but failed to get themselves installed and these should not be included.

APPENDIX II.

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